

邁入新世紀的臺灣：象徵、儀式與偏見的變更

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在二十一世紀的第一個十年，臺灣猶如處於十字路口上尋找新的目標和發展。雖然其所追求的目標看似明確，例如確保國家安全、經濟繁榮、自我認同，及「臺灣問題」的解決等等，但達成這些目標的途徑仍然顛簸不定，受到各種社會團體、大眾情緒和觀念的複雜互動所左右。

新世紀之初(2000 年)的臺灣正逢總統大選，由於國民黨的挫敗，出現中華民國史上首次的政黨和平輪替。執政黨變成由陳水扁總統所領導的民進黨之後，臺灣人民對此改變充滿期盼。他們相信民進黨的競選承諾，諸如對抗貪腐、打開臺灣的國際知名度、藉由推行改革、現代化和堅持「新中間路線」，以維護社會公平與和諧等等。然而事實證明，社會和諧之道遠較陳總統與民進黨的「白皮書」和政策綱領所宣示的，更為糾結與充滿挑戰。

在 2000 年大選的前夕，民進黨將不得不其政黨的意識型態提昇為全國性的意識型態，用以鞏固整個臺灣社會。此意識型態在陳總統首次 520 就職後成為官方政策，藉由許多方式企圖改變人民的整體思向。例如，藉由變更社會上的時空符號、國家標誌與機關，藉由更換原目標型的、歷史的、和文化的象徵，以及藉由「正名運動」(臺灣化)和轉變社會集體儀式、觀念，包括社會偏見等。

八年來，這些政策有多成功？現今的學者和輿論皆各自闡述對民進黨的評價。顯而易見，民進黨致力扭轉臺灣民眾的意識形態，將對年輕的下一代有深遠的影響。不過，他們建立的意識形態不夠穩固，不足以抑止「臺灣認同」的分裂並整合整個臺灣社會。尤有甚者，民進黨似乎未能成功地固守其執政黨的地位。

在 2008 年 3 月大選後，臺灣人民會看到一連串新政策的口號、目標與方向。無論那是甚麼，臺灣都須凝聚共識以解決重大的社會問題，包括族群問題，而族群問題也將是凝聚「臺灣認同」的一大基礎。「臺灣認同」未獲解決前，兩岸關係與「臺灣問題」也不可能有共通的解決之道。

TAIWAN ON THE EVE OF THE XXI CENTURY: THE TRANSFORMATION OF SYMBOLS, RITUALS AND PREJUDICES

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During the first decade of the XXI century, Taiwan finds itself being at crossroads, looking for the new goals and ways of its development. While its general goals seem to be quite obvious – to ensure national security and economic prosperity, self-determination and resolution of the “Taiwan problem”, the ways to reach these goals are still uncertain, and their ongoing rerouting depends on complex interactions of various public groups, public moods and perceptions in Taiwan.

The arrival of the new century coincided with the presidential elections, the defeat of KMT and the first ever peaceful rotation of political parties in history of ROC, Taiwan. After president Chen led the DPP to become the ruling party, Taiwan people were full of hopes for positive changes. They trusted in daring electoral programs of the DPP, which promised to fight corruption, to extend international visibility of Taiwan, to ensure social fairness, harmony and reconciliation by implementing reforms, modernization and adherence to the “new middle way”. Yet, this way to social harmony had proved to be much more entangled and challenging, than the one prophesied by all the “white books”, “road maps” and promises of president Chen and the DPP.

On the eve of the 2000 elections DPP had had to upgrade its party ideological program to the national level program, potent to consolidate the whole Taiwan society. This program became the official national policy just after president Chen’s first 520 inauguration. It included various activities, aimed to change the whole set of Taiwan people’s mind, by shifting such basic social orientations as spatial and time symbols, national symbols and institutions, by substitution of objective, historical and cultural symbols, by “rectification of names” (Taiwanization) and transformation of collective rituals and perceptions, including the common prejudices.

How much successful was this policy of the last 8 years? Today both scholars and public could give their own evaluations and ratings of the DPP’s performance. It’s obvious, that DPP managed to trigger big changes in ideological perceptions of Taiwan people, which would have serious impact on their next young generation. Yet, it failed to provide a kind of effective “consolidating ideology”, able to overcome the split of “Taiwan identity” and to unify the whole Taiwan society. Moreover, it seems that DPP had failed to consolidate itself as the ruling party.

After the March-2008 elections Taiwan people could be offered the new set of strategic slogans, goals and ways to achieve. Whatever it be, Taiwan needs a vital consensus on macro-social problems, including the ethnic ones, which, in turn, would become a corner-stone for consensus on the problem of “Taiwan identity”. With no resolution to the problem of “Taiwan identity” it would be impossible to settle the cross-Strait relations and the “Taiwan problem” as a whole.